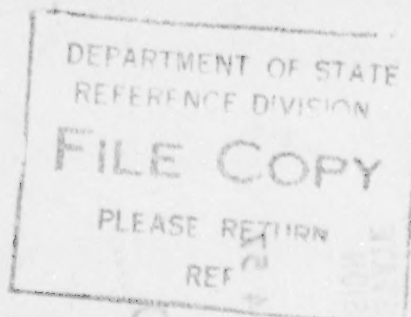


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GERMAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT OVER EUROPE
1939 - 1943
Methods and Organization of Nazi Controls

German Military and Police Tribunals
In Occupied Territories

25 October 1943

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SUMMARY

After a brief outline of the military penal law and the corresponding courts and procedures established within Germany proper, the chapter describes the rules concerning military and special police courts introduced into the various regions of occupied Europe. While certain patterns, in particular those referring to crimes against military and SS security, are uniform, others, mainly those referring to "political" acts like sabotage and political resistance, are dealt with differently according to the general organization created by the occupying power in the different parts of Europe. The chapter takes up the various countries and regions one by one, showing how military and police courts have become active in the repression of these acts.

List of Special Terms and the Translations Used for Them

Ausnahmezustand: (if military) martial law, (if civil) state of siege

Befehlshaber: Commander

Begnadigung: Pardon

Belagerungszustand: (if military) martial law, (if civil) state of siege

Berufung: Appeal

Freischaerler: Partisans, franc-tireurs

Generalgouvernement: Government General

Gerichtsbarkeit: Jurisdiction

Gesetzbuch: Code

Gnadenrecht: Right of pardon

Hauptverhandlung: Trial

Kriegsgericht: Court martial

Militaergerichtsbarkeit: Military jurisdiction

Militaerstandgericht: Summary court martial

Operationsgebiet: Zone of (military) operations

Polizeigericht: Police court

Polizeistandgericht: Summary police court

Polizeistandrecht: Police state of siege

Reichskriegsgericht: Supreme Court Martial

Sondergericht: Special court

Sondergerichtsbarkeit: Special jurisdiction

Standgericht: Summary court, summary tribunal

Standgerichtsbarkeit: Summary jurisdiction

Standrecht: State of siege

Urteil: Sentence

Urteilsgruende: Conclusions

Verordnung: Decree, ordinance

Verwaltungsstandrecht: Civil state of siege

Volksgerichtshof: People's court

Zustaendigkeit: Jurisdiction

I. MILITARY JURISDICTION AND MILITARY TRIBUNALS IN GERMANY IN WARTIME 1/

Jurisdiction for offences against military law (as defined below), with special courts, special procedures, and a special set of legal rules (Militaergerichtsbarkeit) had been regulated by the Reich Code of Military Courts and Procedure (Militaerstafergerichtsordnung - MStGO) of 1898. Under the Weimar Republic, special military jurisdiction was abolished and offences against military law were put under the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts. Military jurisdiction was reestablished by a law of 12 May 1933, and was regulated largely on the basis of the old MStGO. Under this legislation, military jurisdiction was still conceived in a rather "liberal" fashion, as a comprehensive code creating legal guarantees for the protection of the rights and interests of the accused by an elaborate system of tribunals and detailed rules of procedure, such as evidence, legal remedies, etc. There were courts of first instance (Kriegsgerichte), courts of appeal (Oberkriegsgerichte), and a Supreme Court Martial (Reichskriegsgericht), whose composition and competence were all regulated in minute detail.

Since the outbreak of the war this system has been replaced by one which largely substitutes military convenience and free discretion for legal security. Detailed rules of competence and procedure have been dropped in order to enable the military authorities to deal with military crimes in summary fashion.

A. General Organization .

The new rules on procedure and organization are embodied in the Decree concerning Military Jurisdiction during War and in Special Operations (Verordnung ueber das militaerische Strafverfahren im Kriege und bei besonderem Einsatz, or Kriegsstraferfahrensordnung - KStVO) of 17 August 1938, in force since 26 August 1939, as amended and supplemented by eight executive decrees (Durchfuhrungsverordnungen), most of which add further to the discretionary character of the law.

The aim of the new law is indicated by the first paragraph of its first article: "In order to protect the armed forces and the prosecution of the war, a simplified procedure, the war procedure, is herewith established." It then goes on to enumerate certain rules which "must be observed under all circumstances" ("folgende Vorschriften muessen unter allen Umstaenden beachtet werden"). The most important among these rules are that there must be a trial before three judges, that the accused must be heard if he is present, that there must be a written decision; provided with conclusions, as result of a conviction by a majority, and that the sentence must be confirmed by a competent commander (art. 1, par. II). This implies that any other procedural rule contained in the remainder of the KStVO need not always be observed; i.e., its observance is at the discretion of the authorities.

Art. 1 further stipulates that in the absence of a rule, authorities may regulate the procedure according to due discretion ("nach pflichtgemaessem Ermessen"); this again adds

1/ Military jurisdiction and courts in peacetime are not under discussion.

to the sphere of arbitrary discretion (art. 1, par. III). Moreover, it was deemed necessary to state expressly that even foreigners may not be punished without judicial procedure (art. 1, par. IV). Finally, a reservation is made as a safeguard of reciprocity: that procedural changes may be made against nationals of an enemy which does not offer "similar legal guarantees" (art. 1, par. V).

B. Jurisdiction

Subject to military jurisdiction are soldiers, other members of the armed forces, prisoners of war, and "all other persons," whether Germans or foreigners, military or civilians, in the cases of art. 2-4 KSSVO (see below). These articles cover the following cases: Espionage, Freischaerlerei (partisan activity, franc-tireurs), and all offences against decrees issued by commanders of occupied territories. "All other persons" are further subject to military jurisdiction in cases of treason, damage done to military establishments, and acts committed in military establishments (art. 2). Under military jurisdiction are also all those who commit any offence in a zone of military operations ("im Operationsgebiet") (art. 3). The original text of art. 3 provided also for military jurisdiction in a zone immediately in the rear of the operations zone ("rueckwaertiges Heeresgebiet"). For this zone, the commanders-in-chief of the armies determined when and to what extent military jurisdiction ceased and that of the ordinary courts began. The eighth executive decree of 4 July 1942, has abolished the special status of this zone and assimilated it to that of occupied territory in general. To these already large extensions of military jurisdiction the eighth executive decree of 4 July 1942 has added a most important one, namely, cases where acts have been committed abroad against members of the armed forces prior to the occupation. This implies the retroactive force of the laws thus applied.

C. Courts and Procedures

Military jurisdiction rests with "Gerichtsherren" (those who have the power to inaugurate, supervise, and execute the procedures), and is exercised by "Gerichte" (tribunals). The Fuehrer has "supreme military jurisdiction" as "oberster Gerichtsherr"; "Gerichtsherren" are the president of the Supreme Court Martial and certain high commanders of the armed forces. Tribunals are courts in the field or on board ship ("Feld-und Bordkriegsgerichte"); they are composed of one judicial and two lay members of the armed forces (in certain cases the learned judge may be replaced by an officer); there is, besides, the Supreme Court Martial in Berlin. Under certain circumstances, particularly in cases of civilians, ordinarily competent Gerichtsherren and tribunals may be replaced by an emergency jurisdiction ("Notgerichtsstand") inaugurated by the nearest available commander. According to the fourth executive decree of 1 November 1939, he may establish summary tribunals ("Standgerichte") in case cogent reasons permit no delay and witnesses or other evidence are available on the spot.

Prosecution and conviction in absentia is facilitated (art. 59).

Verdicts rendered are subject to no appeal; they must be executed after confirmation ("Bestaetigung") by the Gerichtsherr or certain other commanders (in case of a death penalty against a German officer, by the Fuehrer). Death penalties must be

executed immediately after confirmation, in the case of men by shooting, in the case of women by decapitation. In cases of sentences rendered against Freischaerler (partisans, franc-tireurs) the fourth executive decree permits the omission even of confirmation if the competent commander cannot immediately be reached and cogent military reasons stand against delay.

D. Substantive Law

Acts for which military jurisdiction may be exercised are defined in a comprehensive Military Penal Code (Militaerstrafgesetzbuch - MStGB) of 1872, which is still valid but to which important additions have been made by the Decree concerning Special Military Crimes during War (Kriegssonderstrafrechtsverordnung - KSSVO) of 17 August 1938, in force since 26 August 1939.

1. Crimes Committed by Members of the Armed Forces. Most delinquencies contained in the Penal Code concern the military personnel of the armed forces and its duties. One group defines the duties of military subordination and the corresponding crimes, such as mutiny, military riot, bodily assault upon a superior, etc. Another group penalizes abuses of military authority, such as instigation of subordinates to commit a crime, offending or maltreatment of inferiors, etc. A number of articles concern illegal acts against property (military embezzlement, etc.), the violation of certain special military duties (delivery of wrong messages, damaging, by negligence, ships or planes, etc.), or such special offences as marriage without permission. A more important group of norms deals with desertion and violation of duties because of fear. According to a decree of 31 March 1943, penalties for crimes against military discipline or the duty of military courage, may, in excess of the ordinary penalty, be raised to the death penalty, if this is in the interest of military discipline or military security, or if particularly heavy damage to the Reich or the conduct of the war has occurred, and the ordinary penalty seems insufficient according to "sound popular sentiment." This stipulation has been made applicable to cases which occurred before the decree was issued.

While all these offences can be committed in peace as well as in war, others are specific war crimes, some of them referring to acts which can only be committed "in the field" ("im Felde"). Thus war treason (Kriegsverrat) is treason committed in the field. It is punishable by death, as is capitulation (Uebergabe an den Feind) on the part of a commander who has not exhausted all means of defense. Another group of "field crimes" concerns acts against persons or property -- e.g., pillage, devastation, robbing of wounded or corpses.

2. Crimes Committed by Others. To the foregoing groups of crimes, the KSSVO has added others which concern principally civilians and foreigners in wartime. Art. 2 deals with espionage. Art. 3 stipulates the death penalty for Freischaerleri, i.e., the commission of hostile military acts without being a regular member of organized armed forces (the definition here takes over the corresponding stipulations of the Hague Code on Land Warfare). Procedure in cases of Freischaerleri is especially summary (see above). Art. 4 contains a blank norm which fixes severe penalties for acts committed against any decree issued by commanders of occupied foreign territory. Art. 5 concerns the undermining of German defense power (Zersetzung der Wehrkraft). This is defined as the attempt

to paralyze or undermine the will of the German or an allied people to defend itself against enemies and contains, in particular, certain crimes which were formerly embodied in the MStGB, such as incitement of a soldier to disobedience or desertion, or the attempt to evade military service. This article, of course, punishes all anti-militarist and pacifist activities. In cases of art. 5 civil courts (usually Sondergericht or Volksgericht) are also competent.

The MStGB extends the validity of German criminal law to occupied foreign territory by stipulating that any act committed either by a German or a foreigner on such territory against German troops or authorities which is punishable according to German law shall be considered as committed in German territory.

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II. MILITARY JURISDICTION AND GERMAN SPECIAL COURTS IN OCCUPIED EUROPE

With the KSSVO and the KStVO, German military authorities had sharp weapons to enforce military security in whatever territories should be occupied by German armed forces. But, although an effective instrument providing quick and summary treatment of offences against military law, this legislation was still modelled after traditional concepts of military occupation. It did not, for instance, provide for any non-military apparatus of repression and terror for conquered regions corresponding to the terrorist machinery set up within the Reich proper. However, the attempt to incorporate occupied territories into a "new order" (not only to occupy them for the duration of the war), as well as to establish a new pattern of life and society wherever German arms prepared the way for Nazi penetration, soon made it necessary to go far beyond the usual pattern of military security measures. Thus, the "coordination" of life and institutions in the conquered regions and the resistance thus provoked among the inhabitants called for devising institutions and measures of political repression, e.g., for the protection of "collaborationists." Today military courts and military jurisdiction proper constitute only a small part of the machinery for the repression of political crimes in German-held Europe. But ways and procedures of handling the problems vary considerably according to the regions concerned. There is comparatively little common to all territories under Nazi rule.

A. Uniform Elements

Common to all occupied territories are certain rules which maintain that minimum of genuine military jurisdiction traditionally conferred upon military courts as the safeguard of military security and order. For certain SS formations with quasi-military functions and organization a corresponding SS jurisdiction was likewise established on a general pattern.

1. Military Jurisdiction. Whatever may be their more far-reaching jurisdiction in certain regions or under special circumstances, 1/ military tribunals, as established by the KStVO, always have exclusive jurisdiction over acts committed by members of the armed forces as well as over two groups of acts committed by civilians: a) acts directed against the German armed forces, its members and followers ("Straftaten, die sich gegen die deutsche Wehrmacht, ihre Angehörigen, oder das Gefolge richten"), and b) acts committed in buildings, localities, or installations which serve the German armed forces ("Straftaten, die in Gebäuden, Räumen oder Anlagen, die den Zwecken der deutschen Wehrmacht dienen, begangen werden"). Court or Gerichtsherr may in these cases refer the

1/ During actual operations, all attacks by civilians upon the armed forces are, of course, dealt with in summary fashion by summary courts martial (Feldstandgerichte).

prosecution of the acts to ordinary or special civil courts. Without such action, however, no other court may exercise jurisdiction over acts committed against military security. 1/

In these cases, the procedure is that of the KStVO and the right of pardon is usually especially reserved to the military commanders. In addition to the rules contained in the KStVO, a decree of the Fuehrer (Fuehrerverordnung) of 6 January 1942, 2/ provides that, in view of the abolition of appeal, the commanders-in-chief of the army corps or the Chief of the High Command of the Armed Forces can quash sentences and refer the case to the Supreme Court Martial.

2. Special SS Jurisdiction. According to the Decree concerning Special Jurisdiction in Criminal Cases for Members of the SS and Members of Police Forces in Special Operations, 3/

1/ See for France: Decree concerning judicial organization in the occupied territory (Verordnung ueber die Rechtspflege im besetzten Gebiet) of 23 July 1940 (Verordnungsblatt fuer die besetzten franzoesischen Gebiete, /hereafter always referred to as VOBl. France/ p. 59), art. 1.

Netherlands: Decree of 8 June 1940 (Verordnungsblatt fuer die besetzten niederlaendischen Gebiete, /hereafter referred to as VOBl., Netherlands/, p. 26).

Norway: Decree concerning the protection of the occupied Norwegian territories (Verordnung zum Schutze der besetzten norwegischen Gebiete) of 12 October 1942; cf. also second decree for the extension of the jurisdiction of the SS and Police Court Nord (Zweite Verordnung ueber die Erweiterung der Zustaendigkeit des SS und Polizeigerichts Nord) of 21 January 1942 (Verordnungsblatt fuer die besetzten norwegischen Gebiete /hereafter referred to as VOBl. Norway/, 1942 no. 2), art. 2.

Serbia: Decree concerning military jurisdiction over the civil population (Bekanntmachung ueber die Zustaendigkeit der deutschen Wehrmachtgerichte zur Aburteilung der Zivilbevoelkerung) of 27 June 1941 (Bekanntmachungen und Veroeffentlichungen der deutschen Behoerden in Serbien, p. 2).

Government General: Decree concerning military jurisdiction over civilians in the Government General (Verordnung ueber die Wehrmachtgerichtsbarkeit gegen Zivilpersonen im Generalgouvernement), 26 January 1940 (Verordnungsblatt fuer das Generalgouvernement /hereafter referred to as VOBl. G.G./, p. 41).

Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia: Decree concerning criminal jurisdiction (Strafgerichtsverordnung) of 14 April 1939 (RGBl.I, p. 754), as amended by decree of 5 May 1941 (RGBl.I p. 248), and decree concerning the exercise of military jurisdiction in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (Verordnung ueber die Militaergerichtsbarkeit im Protektorat Boehmen und Maehren), 8 May 1939 (RGBl.I, p. 903).

2/ Heeresverordnungsblatt (hereafter referred to as HVOBl) 1942, Part B, 27 January.

3/ Verordnung ueber eine Sondergerichtsbarkeit in Strafsachen fuer Angehoerige der SS und fuer die Angehoerigen der Polizeiverbaende bei besonderem Einsatz. (28452)

17 October 1939, 1/ and two executive decrees of 1 November 1939, 2/ and 17 April 1940, 3/ crimes committed by members of the Reichsfuehrung SS, of the higher SS staffs, of the SS Verfuegungstruppe, the SS Totenkopfverbaende, the SS Junker-schulen, and also police forces in special operations, have been put under the special jurisdiction of SS courts which, in organization and procedure, correspond closely to military tribunals though composed of SS officials. The Gerichtsherr is Himmler. One would assume that, as a consequence of the exemption of SS and Police formations from the jurisdiction of military courts, attacks on SS and Police security would also come under the jurisdiction of the SS courts. As far as is known, however, there is, with two exceptions, no express provision for a special SS jurisdiction in cases of acts of civilians directed against SS security. The exceptions concern a) the Protectorate, where, in case of a direct attack by a non-German against the SS, the police, or members thereof, the Reich Leader SS and Chief of the German Police can refer the case to an SS court. If the same act also affects the interests of the armed forces, the Reich Leader SS and the Chief of the Armed Forces High Command must agree whether to refer it to an SS court or a military tribunal (decree of 15 July 1942) 4/ b) In the occupied Dutch territories the Reich Commissar can refer cases of acts directed against the SS, the police, or members thereof during or with reference to their service, to SS and police courts (art. 12, decree concerning German criminal jurisdiction of 6 July 1942) 5/.

Individual members of the SS or police are under military jurisdiction if they have been inducted into the armed forces as active soldiers; for whole formations of the SS or police in the field, special police field courts have been established (decree of the High Command of the Armed Forces, 28 May 1940). 6/

B. Diversified Elements

Over and above measures for the security of the armed forces and the protection of military order, measures for political security and coordination were taken in almost all countries and territories invaded by the Germans. But the way in which these policies have been applied varies considerably according to the general political set-up created directly by, or indirectly under the auspices of, the occupying power. Comprehensive military jurisdiction for all kinds of political crimes in territories under military administration contrasts with the creation, in territories having a German civil administration, of extensive jurisdictions of various

1/ RGBI.I, 2107.

2/ RGBI.I, 2293.

3/ RGBI.I, 659.

4/ RGBI.I, 475.

5/ VOB1, 346.

6/ HVOB1. 1940, part B, 11 June.

non-military German courts, frequently whole court systems. This "civil" jurisdiction for the repression of acts and attitudes endangering the new political set-up in its turn is diversified. While in certain instances or for certain periods it has been conferred upon the more usual type of legal establishments warranting the name of "courts," it has often become a matter with which the Gestapo, through the establishment of police courts, is mainly concerned. In the following pages, the systems will be described on the basis of distinguishing four patterns in four different regions,--patterns organized according to the degree of deviation from the traditional system of military occupation.

1. Denmark. In this country we find 1/ the least deviation from the traditional pattern. German military jurisdiction is limited to the protection of military security on the basis of the KStVO. A decree of the High Command of the Armed Forces, 1 August 1940, 2/ confers decisions, as to whether cases of civilians shall be tried by military tribunals or handed over to Danish authorities to the commander of the German forces in Denmark. Political crimes not directly affecting military security are apparently handled by the Danish courts.

2. France, Belgium, Serbia, Greece. These are territories under exclusively military administration where, however, attempts at coordination (partly by setting up puppet regimes and even dismembering the country and reorganizing its political boundaries as in Yugoslavia), have been made. Since these efforts have frequently met with strong and violent opposition, military jurisdiction has been extended to include political repression.

a. Organization and Procedure. Military tribunals are usually set up at the Oberfeldkommandanturen, the Feldkommandanturen, and the Ortskommandanturen. Information about details of their organization, their location, etc., is not available, except for occasional references in news dispatches to this or that tribunal which has acted in a specific case. 3/ Only apropos the regulation of the competence of certain commanders to issue limited penal orders (Strafverfuegungen) in cases of minor offences, 4/ has information about the

1/ Up to 29 August 1943. On that day a decree introduced martial law into Denmark (forbidding public gatherings, strikes, sabotage, and similar acts) and stated that violations of these regulations would be punished by German courts martial. It seems that this decree is still in force. Thus, the situation in Denmark would now appear to be similar to that obtaining in France, Belgium, Serbia, and Greece.

2/ HVOB1., part C, 26 August.

3/ See e.g., News Digest, 1 April 1943, E 14, 15, which mentions the "military tribunal of Feldkommandantur 520, Charleroi section".

4/ Strafverfuegungen are judicial verdicts inflicting usually minor punishments in a summary procedure without a hearing. Against them, the accused can appeal for regular trial.

specific authorities who possess these competences been published. Thus a decree for occupied France of 1 August 1942 1/ assigns Strafverfuegung jurisdiction to Kreiskommandanten, Feldkommandanten, the Kommandant of Greater Paris, and (this in deviation from the exclusively military pattern) the commanders of the security police operating in the sphere of the military commander in France. In Serbia (which means the rump-Yugoslavia remaining after the cutting off of Croatia and other parts of the Kingdom) a similar decree 2/ confers this jurisdiction upon Ortskommandanten.

b. Extent of Jurisdiction. Besides acts committed against military security proper, the jurisdiction of military tribunals here extends to all imaginable acts allegedly damaging or endangering the political order established by, or under the auspices of, the occupying power.

Thus, the decree concerning judicial organization in occupied France of 23 July 1940, besides establishing the usual military jurisdiction, makes military courts competent in all cases of contravention of ordinances issued in the territory "for the safeguard of the purpose of the occupation" ("zur Sicherung des Besetzungszweckes"). They have further jurisdiction in all cases where a German or Italian national is accused (Second decree concerning judicial organization, 12 November 1940) 3/ and even retroactive jurisdiction in cases of acts committed by such nationals in the occupied territory prior to its occupation (Decree of 16 January 1941) 4/ a measure obviously directed against anti-Nazi and anti-Fascist exiles.

In Belgium, a decree of 18 April 1943 (Verordnung zum Schutze des inneren Friedens und der Besatzungsmacht) 5/ has codified the substantive law concerning political offences in the broadest sense, penalizing all acts of sabotage and violence against Germans or collaborationists as well as attempts to "disturb the industrial peace" by strikes, forgery of food coupons, or "unauthorized hunting". Also assistance rendered to escaped prisoners and other enemy nationals as well as furthering "Communist" plots, making, possession, or distribution of anti-German propaganda material, adherence to unauthorized political groups, participation in unauthorized demonstrations or meetings, listening to foreign broadcasts, spreading of false rumors, plunder, and unauthorized dispensing

1/ VOB1. France, p. 430.

2/ Verordnungsblatt fuer die besetzten jugoslawischen Gebiete (hereafter referred to as VOB1 Serbia), 1941; p. 6.

3/ VOB1, France, p. 144

4/ VOB1, France, p. 182

5/ Verordnungsblatt des Militaerbefehlshabers in Belgien und Nordfrankreich (hereafter referred to as VOB1 Belgium), no. 101

of medical treatment to members of the German army or administration. This decree has repealed and replaced 25 former ordinances issued between 10 May 1940, and 10 December 1942.

In Serbia, the jurisdiction in non-military matters is similarly broad; however, it is defined not so much by cataloguing as by having recourse to certain general clauses. Thus the decree of 27 June 1941, concerning military jurisdiction over the civil population puts under military jurisdiction (among others), acts directed against security or interests of the Reich or the German Volk or against the life, health, honor, or property of German nationals or racial Germans (Volkszugehoerige), and, as if this were not broad enough, at the discretion of the military tribunals all cases whatsoever where military necessities or the purpose of the occupation render it advisable. Also under exclusive military jurisdiction are acts committed by Germans or German Volkszugehoerige and (again a retroactive rule), acts committed prior to the invasion (decree concerning German penal law). 1/

Not much information is available on German-occupied Greece. It is known, however, that military tribunals are in charge of the repression of sabotage and similar political acts of resistance.

3. Holland, Norway, Protectorate. In these territories (in the case of the Protectorate, of course, without military occupation durante bello) German civil administrations were set up side by side with military authorities and the indigenous civil administration. Special jurisdiction (sometimes indigenous but in most cases German) for the repression of political and similar crimes was established immediately following the occupation. It was usually on a pattern similar to, or, in the case of the Protectorate, identical with the system prevailing in the Reich proper. Under the impact of violent resistance against Nazi oppression, however, this system was later changed or complemented by the introduction of police terror.

In the following pages the patterns prevailing in the three territories will be described for two stages of development separately.

a. System Prior to the Establishment of Police Jurisdiction. During this period special German jurisdiction for political crimes committed by the inhabitants of the occupied territories is introduced. But this system still bears some features reminiscent of what may be called civilized legal institutions. In details, the system varies in the three regions here considered.

1. Netherlands. In the occupied Dutch territories, besides the jurisdiction of military courts and SS courts in cases concerning military and SS security respectively, a German jurisdiction for criminal acts committed

1/ VOB1, Serbia, p. 5.

by non-Germans was introduced by decree of the Reich Commissar (17 July 1940) 1/ For this purpose, a German Landesgericht and a German Obergericht were created. Organization and jurisdiction of these courts are regulated by the decree concerning German jurisdiction in penal cases (Verordnung ueber die deutsche Gerichtsbarkeit in Strafsachen) in the version of 6 July 1942. 2/ Besides German nationals, all other persons are subject to their jurisdiction if acts are directed against the German Reich, Volk, or Nazi party including its affiliations, or any members of these; and further, if they have been committed by officials in localities serving German authorities or purposes, and if they are committed during air raids or otherwise constitute a "socially dangerous" (Gemeingefahrlich) crime (art.2.). By decree of 5 January 1943 (mentioned below), cases of "sabotage", in a very broad definition, come likewise under the jurisdiction of the German courts - in this case under exclusive jurisdiction of the Obergericht (art.1,55). The seat of the courts is at The Hague. Judges are appointed "revocably" ("auf Widerruf") and may be members of some Reich court. The Landesgericht is court of first instance, in so far as prosecution is not instituted directly before the Obergericht. It tries cases by single judge (Einzelrichter). Appeal may be made to the Obergericht which judges in chambers of three judges. The Obergericht applies the special and summary procedure established in the Reich for the so-called "Special Courts" (Sondergerichte). Against its sentences there is no legal remedy. Trials before the German courts can be referred to Dutch courts. Even after the decree of 19 March 1941 3/ had introduced the possibility of establishing a civil state of siege in regions where public order is disturbed (Verwaltungsstandrecht), courts competent to treat cases under such state of siege (Standgerichte) were not police courts but the German Obergericht, sitting again as Sondergericht. It was only in January 1943 that the exercise of judicial functions was handed over to the police.

ii. Norway. In Norway the original intention of the German administration to avoid extraordinary measures and to interfere with Norwegian jurisdiction only where absolutely necessary has been even more apparent. It seems that they hoped for a rather long period to combat Norwegian resistance by making use of the collaborationist Norwegian groups and authorities. Only for special and well-defined cases were special courts from time to time established. Thus a decree concerning procedure before the German Court 4/ of 27 August 1940 5/ (in connection with a decree concerning enemy property of 17 August 1940) 6/ created a German Court at Oslo, which,

1/ VOB1 Netherlands, p. 181.

2/ VOB1 Netherlands, p. 346.

3/ VOB1 Netherlands, March, 20, 1941.

4/ Verordnung ueber das Verfahren vor dem Deutschen Gerichtshof.

5/ VOB1 Norway, p. 11.

6/ VOB1 Norway, p. 3.

apparently, was given jurisdiction only in the case of acts coming under the decree concerning enemy property. This court applied German penal law and German law of criminal procedure. Not much was said about its composition, except that the president and the two assistant judges (Beisitzer) were under the direct supervision of the Reich Commissar. It was disestablished by decree of 30 July 1942, 1/ when its jurisdiction was transferred to the SS and Police Court Nord. Certain other acts against political security were handed over to a Norwegian tribunal by a decree of the Reich Commissar concerning establishment of a Norwegian Special Court 2/ of 5 November 1940. 3/ These are: offences against the decree prohibiting political parties of 25 September 1940, 4/ and offences against the decree forbidding activities in favor of the Norwegian dynasty of 7 October 1940. 5/ It is composed of Norwegian judges appointed by the Commissar for Justice (kommissarischer Staatsrat fuer das Justizwesen), who is authorized to regulate its procedure. Besides these, by decree of the Reich Commissar of 21 December 1940, a Norwegian "People's Court" was established, which is modelled after the German Volksgerichtshof and has jurisdiction in matters of treason. In all other political cases, during this first period, German military tribunals were given jurisdiction in well-defined cases of contravention of definite decrees, e.g., decree of 21 February 1941, concerning defense against British espionage, 6/ decree concerning unauthorized wireless establishments of 1 March 1941, 7/ etc. There was, throughout this period, nothing comparable to the broad and vaguely defined criminal jurisdiction of military tribunals in France or Belgium or even the broad general jurisdiction of the German Landesgericht and Obergericht in the Netherlands.

iii. Protectorate. In the Protectorate the situation differs from the regions already dealt with inasmuch as its occupation took place before the outbreak of the war, and it was incorporated into the boundaries of the Greater German Reich. Shortly after the taking over of the post-Munich Czechoslovakia remnant, the organization of courts and legal systems was regulated on the basis of Reich laws and decrees. These as a general feature provided for two distinct systems of law and courts: one (in principle) applicable to German Volkszugehoerige, who were made full citizens of the Reich; the other applying to all those

1/ VOB1 Norway, p. 11.

2/ Verordnung ueber die Errichtung eines norwegischen Sondergerichts.

3/ VOB1 Norway, p. 29.

4/ VOB1 Norway, p. 19.

5/ VOB1 Norway, p. 27.

6/ VOB1 Norway, p. 1.

7/ VOB1 Norway, p. 2.

outside this citizenship. Thus, side by side with the "autonomous" (formerly Czech) courts, which continued to function with restricted jurisdiction, a system of German courts on the exact pattern of the Reich was introduced into the Protectorate. These courts have jurisdiction over German nationals, the other courts over non-citizens. German criminal jurisdiction, however, with respect to the applicable law, as well as courts competent to try cases, was extended to non-Germans in cases of crimes which in any way affect German interests or have a political connotation. Thus high treason, sabotage, acts directed against German state or party officials or members of affiliated organizations for political motives, or committed in locations serving these authorities or organizations as well as some special categories of crimes deemed especially dangerous (concerning Volks-haedlinge, Gewaltverbrecher, etc.) come under the exclusive jurisdiction of the German courts, which apply German penal law (art. 6 of the decree concerning the organization of German jurisdiction in the Protectorate (Organisationsverordnung) of 14 April 1939; also arts. 15, 16 of the decree concerning criminal jurisdiction (Strafgerichtsverordnung) of the same date.) 1/ The organization of the courts corresponds to that which prevails in the Reich. There are, besides the usual Amts-, Land- and Oberlandesgerichte, Sondergerichte (special courts) which are really special chambers organized at the various Landgerichte in order to deal with political and similar crimes in a special procedure (art. 3 Strafgerichtsverordnung). Moreover, the jurisdiction of the German Supreme Court (Reichsgericht) and the German People's Court (Volksgerichtshof) was extended to the Protectorate. At the discretion of the Reich Protector certain cases for which German courts are thus competent may be referred to "autonomous" courts. By a decree of January 1942 2/ the jurisdiction of the military courts, which up to that time had extended to certain political crimes, was restricted to "military" matters in the usual sense.

b. Police Jurisdiction under State of Siege. The above-mentioned devices for the repression of resistance and the protection of the new set-up at one time or another proved insufficient. Under the impact of serious unrest the Nazis in all three regions had recourse to the most violent and summary measures by handing over the situation to the SS. The reason why the SS, and not military authorities, were used to repress unrest was probably twofold. First, there existed in all these cases a German civil administration in which the influence of the police was, of course, immeasurably greater than under military control. Second, the army probably wished to avoid being involved in an activity which was more political than military and thus appeared to belong more properly to party than to military authorities. Again, the details of measures and regulations resorted to differ in the three cases.

1/ RGBl. I, 752, 754.

2/ RGBl. I, 42.

1. Netherlands. State of siege was regulated and special SS and police jurisdiction created by decree of 5 January 1943, concerning the protection of order. 1/ While this decree was partly modelled after a previous decree of 19 March 1941, 2/ and in its first part contains an extensive codification of the substantive law concerning political crimes, it goes far beyond earlier decrees by providing for summary jurisdiction of special police courts.

According to arts. 58 and 62-71, police state of siege (Polizeistandrecht) may be proclaimed by the Reich Commissar either for parts or the whole of the territory to repress serious danger or disturbance of public order. In this case, the Higher SS and Police Chief (Rauter) may adopt any measures necessary regardless of law in force and may issue ordinances in execution of his special powers. With the proclamation of the state of siege, everyone is enjoined to abstain from activities which may disturb public order and security and to abide by orders issued with special reference to the Standrecht. Any contravention of this stipulation is punishable with death. For dealing with these cases, special tribunals (Polizeistandgerichte), were established.

The summary police courts consist of one legally trained SS leader and two SS leaders or police officers. The court shapes its procedure according to its own "due discretion" (pfllichtgemaessenes Ermessen), with the reservation that the Higher SS and Police Chief may give directives and that certain extremely flimsy minimum requirements have to be observed. These are: hearing of the accused, appointment of an SS leader or police officer as legal counsel, and the keeping of minutes containing the names of judges and accused, the evidence, the crime, the reasoned verdict, place, and date of the trial. Death is the only penalty, except in case of extenuating circumstances. The death sentence is subject to review by the Higher SS and Police Chief.

Outside the state of siege, the summary police courts may judge cases in which the Reich Commissar, by decree, refers all or certain crimes, for a definite or indefinite period and for part or the whole of the occupied territory, to these courts. He may do so even for a single case.

On the basis of this decree SS courts started to function when Polizeistandrecht was proclaimed on 30 April 1943 for four Dutch provinces and on 1 May for the whole country. Courts were established for various "SS and Police security districts" (SS und Polizeisicherungsbereiche), and death sentences were handed down throughout the period of state of siege.

Recently, a decree of 24 September 1943, whose text and details are not yet known, has conferred upon the

1/ Verordnung ueber den Ordnungsschutz, VOBl, Netherlands, 9 January 1943.

2/ VOBl. Netherlands, 20 March 1941.

summary police courts general jurisdiction over "terroristic groups". This measure appears to have enlarged the jurisdiction of SS and police beyond periods of an especially proclaimed state of siege and thus "institutionalized" it as in the case of Norway.

ii. Norway. While in Holland the special police courts were mainly created to function during the period when state of siege is actually proclaimed, they have become institutionalized in Norway. A decree of 31 July 1941, "concerning civil state of siege" 1/ authorized the Reich Commissar to proclaim a state of siege for the whole territory or parts of it and to give the Higher SS and Police Chief (Wilhelm Rediess) full powers to deal with the situation. It provided for summary treatment of acts coming under state of siege but did not define the respective courts. On 17 September 1941, the Reich Commissar issued a decree establishing the SS Police Court Nord. This court, by executive decree of 21 January 1942, 2/ has been given, over and above its jurisdiction during actual state of siege, jurisdiction in most cases where hitherto other courts (military tribunals, Deutscher Gerichtshof) had had jurisdiction over political crimes. New decrees containing penalties for political crimes always refer them to SS and police court jurisdiction. The decree concerning protection of the occupied Norwegian territories of 12 October 1942 (Verordnung zum Schutz der besetzten norwegischen Gebiete), now contains a veritable catalogue of political crimes, such as treason, sabotage, violence against German authorities and collaborationists. The SS and Police Court Nord has jurisdiction in all these cases. Thus, SS jurisdiction in Norway has become part of the general legal set-up for the repression of political crimes.

Beside German police jurisdiction, a Norwegian (Quisling) police jurisdiction has recently been established. A "Temporary Law on Measures for the Maintenance of Law and Order", issued by the Norwegian Quisling government on 14 August 1943, creates special Norwegian police courts to try offences against the (Norwegian) Military Penal Code of 1902. A police court is established for at least one province and consists of three judges appointed by the regional police departments.

iii. Protectorate. Here, the situation corresponds largely to that which prevails in the Netherlands. During the unrest of the fall of 1941, a decree of the Reich Protector of 27 September 1941, on the Declaration of a Civil State of Emergency, 3/ gave the Reich Protector powers corresponding to those of the Reich Commissar in the Netherlands under similar circumstances. Provision was made for

1/ Verordnung ueber den zivilen Ausnahmezustand, VOBl., Norway, p. 17.

2/ Verordnung ueber die Erweiterung der Zustaendigkeit des SS- und Polizeigerichts Nord, VOBl., Norway, 1942, no. 2.

3/ English translation in Erdely, Prague Braves the Hangman, 1942, pp. 14f.

the establishment of summary police courts which can order capital punishment, acquittal, or handing over of the accused to the Gestapo. There is no appeal and sentences are carried out immediately. The Protector may refer cases to the People's Court.

4. Government General and Eastern Territories. These territories are also in a different category. While indigenous governments were entirely abolished, these regions were not incorporated into the Reich and were not even given the status of a "Protectorate", but were dealt with as a kind of dependency or colony without rights of their own. As in the case of the Netherlands, Norway, and the Protectorate, a German civil administration with its own court system was established, but, in contrast to these territories, first special military courts and then special SS and police courts were introduced parallel to the "ordinary" German jurisdiction. The best way to describe the rather complicated system which has thus come into existence is to give a chronological survey of its development in the Government General.

a. Government General. Summary courts martial (Standgerichte) were set up by the military as early as 12 September 1939, to deal in an even more summary fashion than ordinary military tribunals with those who had in their possession arms, ammunition, etc., or committed acts of violence against members of the army in regions occupied by the German army but no longer actual battle zones (Rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet). They were composed of a commander of a regiment and two soldiers. Trial and execution of death sentences was to take place on the spot (decree of the Supreme Commander of the Army, von Brauchitsch, 12 September 1939). 1/ By decree of 6 October 1939, 2/ the decree was extended to "the entire formerly Polish territories occupied by German troops." About the same time the Commander-in-Chief of the Army decreed that German military tribunals could try crimes committed in Poland prior to 1 September the day of the invasion (which, as in the case of Serbia, is aimed not only at acts of German exiles but also at alleged crimes of Poles against German Volkszugehoerige). 3/

A few days after the establishment of the Government General on 26 October 1939, the Governor General issued a decree attaching the death penalty to all kinds of "acts of violence" (Gewalttaten) directed against the German Reich or "the sovereignty exercised by Germany in the Government General." All acts coming under this decree were to be tried by summary police courts composed of a police officer and two police officials, or a leader of the SS. Totenkopfstandarten or SS. Totenkopfsturmbanne and two members of these formations. The procedure is extremely informal and summary (decree of 31 October 1939, against acts of violence). 4/

1/ Verordnungsblatt fuer die besetzten Gebiete in Polen, p. 8.

2/ Ibid., p. 32.

3/ Decree of October 1, 1939, ibid., p. 24.

4/ Verordnung zur Bekaempfung von Gewalttaten in Generalgouvernement, VOBl., p. 10.

The summary courts martial continued to function for a brief period in cases coming under the decree of 12 September 1939. The decree concerning military jurisdiction over civilians in the Government General of 26 January 1940, 1/ however, transferred their jurisdiction to the summary police courts in so far as the acts were not immediately directed against military security. For military crimes in the narrower sense the ordinary military tribunals remained competent. But all acts against political security or with political motives were now under non-military jurisdiction. Correspondingly, the right of pardon, except in cases of military or SS jurisdiction, was given to the Governor General. 2/ A decree of the Governor General of 8 March 1940, 3/ stipulated that death sentences by ordinary, special, or police courts should not be executed before the Governor had made a decision concerning his right of pardon.

Besides the summary courts martial, the Commander-in-Chief of the army even in the first days of the invasion had created special courts (Sondergerichte, decree of 5 September 1939). 4/ Again, immediately after the establishment of the civil administration, these military special courts were dis-established and "civil" Sondergerichte under the supervision of the Governor General were created as special courts for the trial of acts with political significance (decree of 15 November 1939). 5/ The Sondergerichte were set up in each district of the Government General. These courts apply German penal law according to the procedure prescribed for Sondergerichte in the Reich proper. They decide in chambers of three judges, in minor cases with one single judge. Besides having jurisdiction in cases where decrees expressly refer to them, they can try all cases where, because of the gravity or reprehensibility of the act or public excitement caused by it, trial by special court appears necessary. These courts, established prior to the creation of the general system of German courts in the Government General, were afterwards integrated into that system.

Somewhat later than these special courts, a general system of German courts and German jurisdiction in criminal as well as civil law cases was introduced into the Government General. As in the Protectorate, this system had as its main purpose to provide "racial Germans" with a legal system of their own, and thus led to the same parallelism of German and "native" courts and jurisdictions as in Bohemia and Moravia. Unlike the Protectorate, however, and more reminiscent of the system established in the Netherlands, the German courts were not set up as an integral part of the Reich system but as an independent system.

1/ VOB1., p. 41.

2/ Decree of the Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor, 30 January 1940, RGB1: I 399.

3/ VOB1. I., p. 99.

4/ VOB1. f.d. bes. Geb. in Polen, p. 2.

5/ VOB1., p. 34.

As in all cases of occupied territories with a non-military German court system, these courts were not only established in order to have German nationals and Volkszugehoerige tried by German courts, but also in order to bring non-Germans under German jurisdiction in cases of political significance. Thus an early decree announcing the creation of a German jurisdiction in the Government General side by side with the Polish jurisdiction (26 October 1939), 1/ declared it to be the task of the German courts to punish attacks against the safety and reputation of Reich and Volk, or the life, integrity and property of German Volkszugehoerige. Actually, German courts were created on the basis of the decree concerning German jurisdiction (Verordnung ueber die deutsche Gerichtsbarkeit im Generalgouvernement) of 19 February 1940 2/ and started functioning on 9 April 1940. 3/ The decree provides for German Courts (Deutsche Gerichte) and German Superior Courts (Deutsche Obergerichte), defines their districts and confers upon them jurisdiction in criminal and civil law cases. In criminal cases the German Court is a court of first instance, and the Superior Court decides on appeals. Its verdict is final. The German courts have jurisdiction not only over German nationals and German Volkszugehoerige, but also over non-Germans in the usual cases of acts committed against German interests (for details cf. decree art. 7). The courts, of course, apply German procedural law.

The decree concerning Polish jurisdiction of 19 February 1940, 4/ provides that Polish jurisdiction is permitted insofar as no German court has jurisdiction. Even this sphere of jurisdiction, however, is restricted in criminal cases. Here, Polish courts can try a case only after it has been referred to it by a German prosecuting authority. Moreover, each sentence rendered by a Polish tribunal is subject to review by German authorities. The leader of the justice department in the office of the respective district chief can submit an application for review to the Obergericht "if there is a public interest in a review." The Obergericht may confirm the Polish sentence, decide the case itself, or refer it to a Sondergericht.

Differing from the situation in the Protectorate, there is no jurisdiction of the German Reichsgericht or Volksgerichtshof over cases originating in the Government General. Thus, besides the jurisdiction of military and SS tribunals for the protection of military or SS security, there exist the jurisdiction of the police courts, the Sondergerichte, and the German Courts and German Superior Courts. It seems that major political crimes are now usually handled by the Sondergerichte.

1/ VOB1., p. 4.

2/ VOB1., p. 57.

3/ Weh: Das Recht des Generalgouvernements, 3rd ed., 1941, C 100, note 9.

4/ VOB1. I. p. 64

In autumn 1942, summary courts (Standgerichte) were created for the duration of an Ernteausnahmeszustand (state of siege for the duration of the harvest season) with capital punishment for sabotage of agricultural production. The time fixed for this state of siege was from 1 August to 30 November 1942. Nothing is known about the composition of the courts thus established. Again, in 1943 an Ernteausnahmeszustand was created, this time for the period of 15 July to 20 December.

b. Occupied Eastern Territories. As far as can be judged from rather scanty information, the situation resembles very much that in the Government General. Summary police courts of the Government General type were introduced into these territories under a decree of 12 January 1942. 1/ Other German courts seem to have been set up separately in the two main sections into which the Occupied Eastern Territories are divided, the Ostland and Ukraine, and seem to be more under the authority of the respective Reich Commissars than under the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories. Thus a decree of 10 October 1941, concerning the Creation and Organization of German Jurisdiction in Ostland, 2/ provided for Deutsche Gerichte, a Deutsches Obergericht, and Sondergerichte. In the Deutsche Gerichte there are single judges, whereas the Obergerichte sit as chambers of three. The Sondergerichte consist likewise of chambers with three members each, of which two are lay members selected by the Reich Commissar for Ostland from the ranks of Reich or Volk Germans for one year. The jurisdiction of these courts corresponds to that of the similar courts in the Government General. Legal remedies are limited; they are not available to Jews at all.

In conclusion a rather unique jurisdiction of German military tribunals may be mentioned. It concerns the "taking care of children of German soldiers in the occupied territories." 3/ The decree provides that, "in order to preserve and promote racially valuable Germanic heredity," children of German soldiers and Norwegian or Dutch girls will be granted special care on the part of the authorities established under the Reich Commissars in Norway and the Netherlands. In such cases, any legal question arising, such as one concerning the determination of paternity or alimony claims, belongs to the jurisdiction of German military tribunals which apply German law. Access to ordinary courts is denied to child and mother thus "taken care of." The Reich Commissars are authorized to extend this regulation to children of other Germans in Norway and the Netherlands. Moreover, the Chief of the High Command of the Armed Forces has the power to extend it to the whole or parts of other occupied territories. This clause was obviously added with a view to the Flemish part of the Belgian population. Whether such extensions have actually taken place is not known.

1/ Verordnungsblatt des Reichsministers fuer die besetzten Ostgebiete, no. 2, 15 January.

2/ Verordnung ueber die Errichtung und den Aufbau der deutschen Gerichtsbarkeit im Ostland, Verordnungsblatt des Reichskommissar fuer das Ostland, vol. 1, no. 7.

3/ Verordnung ueber die Betreuung von Kindern deutscher Wehrmachtangehoeriger in den besetzten Gebieten, 28 July 1942, RGBl. I, 488.
(28452)

CRIME

Courts

In the "ruckwärtiges Herres-
gebiet" (immediately follow-
ing military operations)

During occupation

In general

During state of siege

1) Attack on security
of armed forces

Poland: Summary courts martial
Russia: "
In all other cases probably courts martial

Denmark:
France:
Belgium:
Serbia:
Greece:
Netherlands:
Norway:

Courts martial
"
"
"
"
"
"
"
"
"

Protectorate:
Government General:
Occupied Eastern Territories:

2) Attack on security
of SS and police
informations or on
high SS leaders

Denmark: Probably courts martial
France: "
Belgium: "
Serbia: Courts martial
Greece: Probably courts martial
Netherlands: SS courts (also for members
of Dutch police)
Norway: Probably SS and Police Court
Nord
Protectorate: SS courts
G.G.: Probably courts martial
East: "

3) Political crimes
(treason, sabotage,
formations of parties, etc.)

Denmark: Danish courts

France: Courts martial

Belgium: " "

Serbia: " "

Greece: " "

Netherlands: German Landesgericht, German Obergericht

Netherlands: Summary police Courts

Norway: (first, in special cases, courts martial, Deutsches Gerichtshof, now: Norwegian Special Court, Norwegian People's Court, SS and Police Court Nord, Norwegian Police Courts)

Norway: SS and Police Court Nord

Protectorate: German Court system (in particular Sondergerichte, Volksgerichtshof) Protectorate: Summary Police courts

G.G.:

Summary police courts, Sondergerichte, Deutsche Gerichte, Deutsche Obergerichte

G.G.: Summary courts during "Erntea-usnahmezustand" of 1942 and 1943 (cf. text)

East:

Summary police courts, Sondergerichte, Deutsche Gerichte, Deutsche Obergericht

4) Crimes committed in establishments serving German state authorities or the Nazi party

Denmark:

France:

Belgium:

Serbia:

Greece:

Netherlands: Probably courts martial
Courts martial
Probably courts martial
Landesgericht, Obergericht
(only crimes committed by Dutch officials)

Norway:

Probably SS and Police Court Nord

Protectorate: German court system

G.G.: Deutsche Gerichte, Deutsche Obergerichte

East

Probably Deutsche Gerichte, Deutsche Obergerichte

RESTRICTED

5) Attacks on German state or party officials, or on members of party affiliations for political reasons

Denmark: Probably Danish courts
France: Probably courts martial
Belgium: " "
Serbia: Courts martial
Greece: Probably courts martial
Netherlands: Landesgericht, Obergericht
Norway: SS and police Court Nord
Protectorate: German court system
G.G.: Probably courts mentioned sub 3)
East: " "

6) Acts directed against German nationals or "racial Germans"

Poland: Courts martial (for acts committed prior to occupation)
 Denmark: Probably Danish courts
France: Not known
Belgium: " "
Serbia: Courts martial (also for acts committed prior to occupation)
Greece: Not known
Netherlands: Landesgericht, Obergericht (only concerning German nationals)
Norway: Not known
Protectorate: German court system
G.G.: Deutsche Gerichte, Deutsche Obergerichte, summary police courts, Sondergerichte.
East: Not known

7) Crimes committed by German nationals or "racial Germans"

Denmark: Probably Danish Courts
France: Courts martial (including acts committed by German or Italian nationals prior to occupation)
Belgium: Not known
Serbia: Courts martial
Greece: Not known
Netherlands: Deutsches Landesgericht, Deutsches Obergericht (crimes committed by German nationals)
Norway: Not known

RESTRICTED

Protectorate: German court system
G.G: Deutsche Gerichte, Deutsche
Obergerichte (possibly also
Sondergerichte, summary police
courts)
East: Deutsche Gerichte, Deutsche
Obergerichte (possibly also
Sondergerichte, summary police
courts)

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